

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 NEA-14 IO-14 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03

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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1697

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

AMCONSUL LENINGRAD

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION NATO

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 12551

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, UR, US, CY

SUBJ: SOVIET VIEWS ON CYPRUS

1. SUMMARY: GREEK AND TURKISH AMBASSADORS CALLED ON ME TODAY AT MY INVITATION TO DISCUSS RECENT DEVELOPMENTS ON CYPRUS AND SOVIET POSITION. BOTH EMPHASIZED THAT SOVIET VIEWS HAVE NOT CHANGED, THAT THE SOVIETS OPPOSE PARTITION AND SEEK THE WITHDRAWAL OF "ALL FOREIGN FORCES." BOTH INDICATED THAT THEY CONSIDERED SOVIET DENUNCIATION OF NATO AND OF PREVIOUS GUARANTEES AS LARGELY A PROPAGANDA EXERCISE, BUT THE TURK SAW THE SOVIETS SEEKING A DIRECT ROLE, THROUGH UN ACTION, IN ANY NEW
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SETTLEMENT. END SUMMARY.

2. GREEK AMBASSADOR DEMETROPOULOS TALKED WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER FIRYUBIN YESTERDAY AND HEARD A RESTATEMENT OF THE SOVIETS' JULY 28 STATEMENT. DEMETROPOULOS CONSIDERED TODAY'S PRAVDA OBSERVER ARTICLE (SEE SEPTEL "UNENLIGHTENING." ALTHOUGH SOVIET MEDIA HAVE REPORTED TURKISH MILITARY MOVES ON CYPRUS, MOSCOW HAS NOT STATED OR IMPLIED ANY CONDEMNATION OF THEM.

3. DEMETROPOULOS WAS PUZZLED BY SOVIET ATTITUDE OF APPARENT TACIT SUPPORT FOR TURKEY. LOGICALLY, HE THOUGHT SOVIETS SHOULD OPPOSE THE LATEST TURKISH ACTION AND HE LISTED FIVE FACTORS IN THE PRESENT SITUATION WHICH HE FELT SHOULD ARGUE AGAINST MORE DIRECT SOVIET SUPPORT FOR TURKEY: (1) THE SOVIETS OPPOSE PARTITION, BUT THE TURKISH DRIVE IS CREATING DE FACTO PARTITION; (2) THEY FAVOR THE INDEPENDENCE AND NON-ALIGNMENT OF CYPRUS, WHICH IS BEING DESTROYED; (3) THEY ARE LOSING PRESTIGE BY NOT ACTING WHILE A FRIENDLY NON-ALIGNED COUNTRY FALLS; (4) THEY ARE LOSING THE SUPPORT OF THE GREEK COMMUNISTS; AND (5) A STRONG AND DOMINANT TURKEY IS NOT NECESSARILY IN THEIR INTERESTS. AS AGAINST THESE NEGATIVE FACTORS, HE SAW ONLY TWO POSITIVE ONES: (1) THE SOVIETS ARE NO DOUBT DELIGHTED WITH THE APPARENT DISRUPTION OF NATO'S SOUTHERN FLANK AND (2) THEY MAY SEE BETTER TIES WITH TURKEY AND A WEAKENING OF TURKISH LINKS WITH NATO AS HIGHLY DESIRABLE DEVELOPMENTS. DEMETROPOULOS CONCURRED IN MY VIEW THAT THE SOVIETS BASICALLY HAVE FEW ASSETS IN THE AREA AND COULD NOT EASILY AFFECT THE COURSE OF EVENTS. HE DESCRIBED THEIR ATTITUDE IN GENERAL AS "WAIT AND SEE."

4. ON THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR A SPECIAL UN OBSERVER MISSION TO CYPRUS, HE THOUGHT IT COULD BE A MEANS FOR THE SOVIETS TO ASSOCIATE THEMSELVES WITH A CONDEMNATION OF TURKEY WITHOUT SAYING IT DIRECTLY.

5. TURKISH AMBASSADOR TURKMEN SAID THAT HE HAD SEEN DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KOZYREV BOTH YESTERDAY AND TODAY BUT HAD NOTED NO CHANGE IN THE SOVIET POSITION. HE SAID
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THAT KOZYREV APPEARED TO HAVE NO SPECIFIC INSTRUCTIONS, BUT SIMPLY RESTATED PREVIOUS SOVIET VIEWS.

6. TURKMEN SPECULATED, HOWEVER, THAT THE PRAVDA DENUNCIATION OF PREVIOUS GUARANTEES WAS PART OF A SOVIET EFFORT TO PLACE THE PROBLEM BEFORE THE UN, AND THEREBY TO INSURE FOR THEMSELVES A MAJOR ROLE IN ANY FUTURE GUARANTEES. (IN AN ASIDE, HE INDICATED TURKS WERE

UNHAPPY WITH BRITISH AND THAT HE PERSONALLY FELT THAT FONSEC
CALLAGHAN'S STATEMENTS AFTER THE GENEVA TALKS BROKE DOWN
HAD BEEN INTEMPERATE AND UNFITTING FOR ONE WHO SOUGHT TO MODERATE
A DISPUTE.) THE SOVIETS, HE SAID, WERE "KEEN ON A CEASEFIRE,"
AND WERE OPPOSED TO PARTITION. TURKMEN SAID THAT HE PERSONALLY
FELT THAT THE NEXT STEP SHOULD BE A RETURN TO GENEVA. HE WENT
ON TO SAY THAT ANY NEW MEETING ON CYPRUS SHOULD INCLUDE
ONLY REPRESENTATIVES OF GREECE AND TURKEY AND OF THEIR
RESPECTIVE COMMUNITIES IN CYPRUS. THE SOVIETS, HE SAID,
NO LONGER SPEAK OF MAKARIOS, AND HIS RETURN IS CLEARLY
SECONDARY TO THEM NOW. IN HIS OPINION, THEY ARE
NOT VERY EXCITED ABOUT CYPRUS, AND HE NOTED THAT
GROMYKO HAS NOT RETURNED TO MOSCOW FROM VACATION.
TURKMEN FELT THE SOVIETS ARE FRUSTRATED BY THEIR SECONDARY
ROLE AND ARE NOT CAPABLE OF MOVING QUICKLY. "THEY
CANNOT ACT WITH THE SPEED OR AUTHORITY OF SECRETARY
KISSINGER." IN ANY CASE, HE SAID, THEY WOULD NOT WISH
TO SEE THIS CONFLICT BECOME A TEST OF DETENTE.

7. CANADIAN AMBASSADOR FORD, WHO SAW KOZYREV LAST NIGHT,
SAID THAT HE HAD HEARD NOTHING NEW ON THE SOVIET
POSITION, AND THAT KOZYREV HAD GIVEN HIM ESSENTIALLY
A PREVIEW OF TODAY'S "OBSERVER" ARTICLE.
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